People and Place

The 1997 conference was co-sponsored by the National Park Service and Montana State University-Bozeman with support generously provided by:

AmFac Parks and Resorts
Timothy Forbes
Grand Teton National Park
Mountain Research Center, Montana State University-Bozeman
Yellowstone Association
Phi Alpha Theta
Yellowstone National Park

Program Committee

Susan Rhoades Neel, MSU-Bozeman (chair)
Elizabeth Hadly, MSU-Bozeman
Lynda Bourque Moss, Western Heritage Center
Peter Nabokov, UCLA
Thomas Power, University of Montana
Paul Putz, Montana State Historical Society
David Quammen
Bonnie Sachatello-Sawyer, Museum of the Rockies

Planning Committee

Laura Joss (chair)
Sarah Broadbent Stevenson
Sue Consolo Murphy
Mike Johnson
Susan Rhoades Neel
Paul Schullery
Joy Perius

Printing of the proceedings was made possible through the generous support of the Yellowstone Association.



4th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem
October 12–15, 1997
Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel
Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

People and Place

The Human Experience in Greater Yellowstone



PROCEEDINGS

Edited by Paul Schullery and Sarah Stevenson

Associate editors Tami Blackford and Virginia Warner

National Park Service Yellowstone Center for Resources Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming 2004



Suggested citation: Schullery, Paul and Sarah Stevenson, editors. 2004. *People and Place: The Human Experience in Greater Yellowstone*. Proceedings of the Fourth Biennial Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, October 12–15, 1997, Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, Yellowstone National Park. Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming: Yellowstone Center for Resources.

For ordering information, contact: Publications Office, Yellowstone Center for Resources, P.O. Box 168, Yellowstone National Park, WY 82190; (307) 344-2203.

The views and conclusions contained in this document are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as representing the opinions and policies of the U.S. government or other organizations supporting the conference. Mention of trade names or commercial products does not constitute the endorsement of the U.S. government or other organizations supporting the conference.

Cover artwork adapted from the deco style cover of the *Haynes Guides* that first appeared in the 1920s. The original artwork came directly from the Haynes estate. The National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, Susan and Jack Davis Collection provided generous support of electronic images, used in the making of the cover and chapter title pages.

Contents

John D. Varley
Part One: Natives and Locals
The Sheepeater Myth of Northwestern Wyoming
A Ride to the Infernal Regions: An Account of the First Tourist Party to Yellowstone
An Indomitable Spirit: Dr. Caroline McGill
Fear or Reverence? Native Americans and the Geysers of Yellowstone
Part Two: Accommodating Yellowstone Visitors
From Fire to Fun, and Back Again: The Changing Cultural Landscape of Yellowstone's Upper Geyser Basin
The Heart of the Park: The Historical Archeology of Tourism in the Lower Geyser Basin, 1872–1917
The National Park as Museological Space
Architecture of Yellowstone: A Microcosm of American Design
Part Three: Researchers and Resource Managers
Preserving the Beasts of Waste and Desolation: Theodore Roosevelt and Predator Control in Yellowstone
A Delicate Balance: Front and Backcountry Management of Yellowstone's Cultural Resources
The War Against Blister Rust in Yellowstone National Park, 1945–1978 142 Katherine C. Kendall and Jennifer M. Asebrook

Setting Yellowstone's Record Straight: A. C. Peale's Journal Observations during the 1871 Hayden Survey	.55
Charles C. Adams and Early Ecological Rationales for Yellowstone National Park, 1916–1941	.61
A Public Face for Science: A. Starker Leopold and the Leopold Report 1 Kiki Leigh Rydell	.68
Part Four: National Park Ideas	
Economic Aspirations and the Politics of National Park Creation in Jackson Hole, Wyoming, 1919–1929	.80
The Influence of the American Concept of a National Park on Japan's National Park Movement	.95
Roundtable Remarks. The Greater Yellowstone Idea	206
A House Divided: The National Park Service and Environmental Leadership 2 Richard West Sellars	211
Driven Wild: The Origins of Wilderness Advocacy during the Interwar Years 2 Paul S. Sutter	217
Yellowstone's Creation Myth	228
Part Five: Keynotes	
The Lessons and Lesions of History: Yellowstone and Progress	236
How Things Work in Yellowstone	250
 A. Starker Leopold Lecture. Consensus and the Camel's Nose: An Inquiry into How Far We Can Go Before the Beast Occupies the Entire Tent	258
Superintendent's International Luncheon. Crossing the Border: The Conservation Movement in Canada and the United States	269
Closing Summary. Notes on the Reality of Yellowstone	280

Foreword

In 1991, when we initiated our biennial conference series in Yellowstone, we fully intended that each meeting attract as many academic disciplines as possible. In fact, the compliment we may have heard most often over the years has been an expression of appreciation for just how widely our agendas range across the scholarly spectrum. A glance at the agendas and proceedings for the first three conferences—which focused on vegetation, fire, and predators—reveal the breadth of information, and the corresponding breadth of audience appeal these gatherings generated.

The year of the fourth conference, 1997, was also the 125th anniversary year of Yellowstone National Park. It was the perfect occasion to celebrate and showcase the wealth of humanities-related research that was underway in greater Yellowstone. As you will see from this generous and representative selection of papers from that conference, it was even more successful than its predecessors in attracting a full, multidisciplinary crowd.

Besides the many outstanding papers presented, the conference featured a series of keynotes by some of the nation's leading figures in environmental history and park-related humanities research. We are fortunate to include several of those presentations here. Conservationist and historian T. H. Watkins, from Montana State University, delivered a stirring Leopold Lecture on the fate of the modern environmental movement. Donald Worster, University of Kansas, considered the parallels and distinctions between Canadian and United States conservation movements. Patricia Limerick, University of Colorado, explored the quirky and revealing nature of the idea of progress in the history of Yellowstone management. And Gordon Brittan, Montana State University met the daunting challenge of summarizing the vast array of ideas, opinions, information, and dreams that were expressed through the three very busy days of sessions.

It was our best-attended conference to date, and in the years since it was held it has achieved a singular productivity record among our conferences, not only in terms of presented papers that later appeared in professional journals and other outlets, but also in a surprising number of papers that developed into or became significant parts of books.

We see these conferences as part of one large and very involved conversation about Yellowstone research, to be sure, but also about Yellowtone's role in the world and our responsibilities to the park and its posterity. As you will see in the papers in this proceedings, that conversation continues to be vital, exciting, and urgently valuable.

Through this proceedings, we formally and gratefully acknowledge the roles played by our sponsors and by many of the presenters. We also recognize and thank the Planning Committee, ably chaired by Laura Joss. They attended to a thousand logistical, procedural, and diplomatic details. The Program Committee, whose task it was to shape the agenda into a coherent and compelling event, likewise did an

outstanding job. We are especially grateful to Susan Rhoades Neel, then of the History Department, Montana State University, not only for chairing the Program Committee but also as the primary shaper of the goals this conference so admirably met. And we thank the conference services office of Montana State University, with whom the National Park Service cooperated in many of the arrangements and events.

John D. Varley

Director, Yellowstone Center for Resources